/33 cont'd/
583 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to
584 share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.
584 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four
788 times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:
539

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all
[262] present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

3: Schröder--21 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

000

1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [264] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] [562] [463] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his [782] smithy fire.

[322] [326] The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red [326] cloth.

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
574 lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
[535] side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
574 invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.

● 788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.

[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

792
796
782
778

[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

792
796
974
465

Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

372 [43 cont.]
782
572
[783]
[575]

[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.] takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the [788] house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782
[592]
[562]

Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[64 cont.]
*778 nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long
782 silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and
[178] silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on
[796] the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is no connection between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white
● [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions
[621] concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[631 cont.]

527
778
888
792
[604]

[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each [788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[557] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [212] The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. [788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [823] The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

241
782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the [778] way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all [791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear- [787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession [533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[204 cont.]
776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This [756] Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

782
771 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujen. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

782 Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
●788 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are
[791] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosĕ, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

771
174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[226 cont.]

782 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these
241 festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very
174 strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated,
● 788 and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yandzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieńgĕre mudie (heaven knows); and tieńgĕre
[174] tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieńgĕre

[227 cont.]
782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieńgĕre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieńgĕre, uluon purġan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeńglatsien Sań is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgĕ, that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite simply shai Fuoeyeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
103 nation Rguloń (Rĕguloń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery, which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact, one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining, has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
[361] ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[346] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[103] ridge, which bears the name Tuguăn-ula, Tuguăn mountain
[175] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 792 These are all facts that must be taken into account in judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young [788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races [527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals [796] with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they [778] see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre- [574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves [752] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the [778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 792 177 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

PAGE

Prodigality of the Monguors concerning cult and religion 137
Celebration of the cycle of age 137
General rite 137
Lamaist rite 138

XIII. Death 139
Souls 140
The first soul 140
The second soul 141
The third soul 142
Cemeteries 142
Different modes of disposing of the dead 142
Death 143
Guests and the maternal uncle 144
Cremation 145
Mourning customs 146
Ominous deaths and the abodes of evil spirits 146
Women who die in childbirth 146
Suicides 147

I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um*.[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

PAGE

Burying of the dead 147
Confucianist burial of Monguors 148
Incineration of lamas 148
Funeral of the shamans 148

XIV. Cult of Heaven 149
The meaning of the formula "Heaven and all the spirits" 149
Behavior of the Monguors towards Heaven 150
Prayers and offerings for Heaven 151
Cult of Heaven among the Turkic-Mongols 152
Impact of foreign religions in Central Asia 154
Impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols 154
Nestorianism among the Monguors 155
Conclusion 156

XV. Religion and the cohesion of the clan 157

XVI. Conclusion 159
Policy of China toward Lamaism 159
Failure of Lamaism to transform the Monguor society .. 160

Index 163

Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their courtyards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, listeners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the entrance of evil influences.

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Monguors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fervent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, living according to his station, giving bribes and sending gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok. 792 691 428

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released. [647]

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.) 792 796

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. 792 788

[p.43(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants.

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3]

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain.

[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

proficient in the art of gelding, are well known to the farmers and can earn money by this skill. Others, skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, are busy all year writing prescriptions and selling medicines. 792

Still others work as doctors and earn a pretty good living. After examining the six different pulses of the patient, an agreement is made. The doctor guarantees the cure after a certain number of days, and demands immediate payment of an agreed sum, or of an animal, according to the seriousness of the disease. Then follows the prescription and the medicine. Other lamas are engaged in the tailoring business and sell cloth, silk, and brocade. Lamas like to be hired by devout people to make pilgrimages to celebrated monasteries for their intention. I once saw a lama reading texts for three days in the temple of medicine. Two bricks of tea put near him were the salary for the reading, which had been requested by a sick Monguor. I was told at Kumbum that many lamas, hired by Monguors or Tibetans, made a good living by prostrating themselves 108 times every day, for a fixed number of days, before a celebrated temple. Lamas try to be invited by their family, relatives, or friends of the family to pray at their home for several days for an agreed intention. If a sheep or goat is given as payment, they manage to put them, ear-marked, into the herds of some family, and thus in time many lamas come to own a small herd. [759] [788]

If you need some musk or saffron, or *p'ulu* cloth[9] or other products of Tibet, within an hour a lama will show up with what you want, ready to close a deal. It is the same if you need animals or a fine Peking saddle. A few lamas travel over the country to sell books. Lamas who have money in hand are ready to lend it, providing there are satisfactory guarantees. If you are calling on lamas and a lama visitor shows up, they talk business after a few minutes, always business. It was interesting to ask the young lama boys about the means used by the lamas to earn a living. They knew perfectly well how each lama made money, what his profits were, and how much he owned.

It is easy to understand that the mind of a people endowed with such a roving eye for business is not bent on prayers and meditations, and that such people are not committed to monastic life with passionate devotion. Perhaps the environment in which the lamas live, their daily conversations, the successes scored by lamas in trade, stimulate the passion to acquire more and more wealth in order to be able to live at ease in a

[9] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891-92*, 67, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, describes *p'ulu* as woolen fabric woven in pieces, usually thirty feet long and about nine inches wide. The best kinds of this cloth come from Ulterior Tibet. The most popular colors are red, purple, striped and white with red and blue dyed crosses. The fabric is used in China to cover saddles or trim seats of carts. "*P'ulu*" is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name of this cloth, "*p'ruk*." [p. 60(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos*, **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes wahrend der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen nicht vor." (The word *Purgan*, it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan*.)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **17**: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

[p. 149(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle. 771

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven." 772

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help. 772 788 776

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success 772 776 [753]

[P. 150 (B)]